BOKI

THE CHALLENGES OF A RULING CHIEF

A PLAN "B" PAPER

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF A MASTERS DEGREE

IN THE PACIFIC ISLANDS STUDIES PROGRAM

UNIVERSITY OF HAWAI'I, MĀNOA

by

M. Nogelmeier

BOKI

THE CHALLENGES OF A RULING CHIEF

Kamā'ule'ule, or Boki, was an important chief during the reign of Kamehameha the Great (Kamehameha Pai'ea) and that of his son and successor, Liholiho (Kamehameha II.) His most pivotal role began during Liholiho's reign and continued through the early years of the reign of Liholiho's brother, Kauikeaouli (Kamehameha III). It was during the last five years of his life in Hawai'i, 1825-1829, that Boki became a political and economic figure of singular importance in the Hawaiian Islands.

During the latter half of the decade of the 1820s, Boki acted as a counterpoint to the rapidly growing influence of American missionaries in Hawaiian government and society. His cultural conservatism, his ties to the British and his involvement in trade placed him in conflict with his fellow chiefs' growing acceptance of puritan Christianity. Boki was not the only one of his peers to question the growing missionary influence, but his visibility as governor of O'ahu and as guardian of the king highlighted his opposition. Boki's disappearance in 1830, along with hundreds of his supporters, seriously weakened the

opposition in Hawai'i to the puritan government of Ka'ahumanu and her missionary advisors.

Kamā'ule'ule, later known as 'Īliopunahele and eventually as Boki, was the child of Kekuamanohā and Kamakahukilani.[1] Through his father he was a grandson of the Maui king, Kekaulike, and was a first cousin of Ka'ahumanu, Kamehameha's favorite wife and the major power figure in Hawai'i following his death.[2] The name Kamā'ule'ule, literally "the dispirited one"[3] was a reference to the fainting spells of Kahekili which were occurring around the time of Boki's birth.[4]

As a close companion of Kamehameha he was called 'Īliopunahele, or "favorite dog". This name was changed to Boki after Kamehameha met with a large American dog named Boss.[5] Boki, interchangable with Poki, was the Hawaiian pronunciation of Boss, and was the name by which Kama'ule'ule was known throughout the rest of his history.[6]

Boki was a chief of great ability. Kamehameha, noted as a shrewd judge of character, selected him in 1816 to serve as governor of O'ahu, and Boki continued to hold that position, unchallenged, throughout his career.[7] Foreign observers commented on his knowledge, his motivation, his managerial talents and his even temper.[8] His critics were quick to label him a drunken gambler, a tool of merchants

and an extravagant, immoral rebel.[9] He undoubtedly embodied all of the above attributes.

During the missionaries' first years in Hawai'i, Boki's relationship with the mission was similar to that of his fellow chiefs. Although he and his brother, Kalanimōkū, were already baptized prior to the arrival of the American mission, their involvement with the church was no more enthusiastic than that of the chiefs in general.[10]

Boki provided land for the mission in Honolulu and erected houses for the use of the church, all in accordance with the king's approval of their residence there.[11] He attended occasional services and expressed interest in study of the bible, even agreeing to daily instruction for a time.[12]

The more secular skills that the missionaries had to offer were of more immediate interest to the chiefs. Sewing skills were in great demand by the chiefs and especially by the king.[13] Reading and writing were also skills of special interest, greatly admired by the chiefs.[14] They found writing and receiving letters a pleasure and an advantage.[15] The missionaries supported the sometimes burdensome demands of the chiefs for their skills because it protected the relationship of the mission to the "grandees".[16]

But during their first two years the missionaries had minimal success in gaining adherents to their religion. They still had to urge the chiefs to participate in church, personally inviting them on Saturdays for the next day's service. Their invitations were often met with refusals or excuses of other, more interesting activities to attend.[17] The chiefs were not willing to lay aside their own interests to accomodate the new religion.

Boki and the king argued with Bingham about hula performances being held on the Sabbath, saying "this is the Hawaiian custom and must not be hindered."[18] When Bingham persisted, Boki was the more adamant of the two in denying his demands, declaring "Dance we will - no tabu."[19] It was custom and the authority of the chiefs that Boki was protecting.

But there were some early exceptions among the chiefs to the general disinterest exhibited by most, and these exceptions helped set the framework for the later success of the mission. Keōpūolani, sacred wife of Kamehameha I and mother of Kamehameha II, was an early convert, tutored in her bible studies by native teachers from the Society Islands. Showing great piety during the last year of her life, she was baptized, unconcious, on her deathbed in 1823.[20] As the highest ranking chief in the land, she and

her husband, Hoapili, set an example which many of the other chiefs began to follow.

Ka'ahumanu had first intimated her intention to turn to Christianity in late 1821, following a severe illness during which she was nursed by Mr. and Mrs. Bingham.[21] On her return to good health she drifted from that goal and six months later the missionaries still lamented her lack of attention to the bible and her inability to observe the Sabbath.[22]

When, as regent, Ka'ahumanu declared a kapu on drinking in late summer of 1822, it was a harbinger of the eventual government of the islands through puritan decree.[23] A year later Kalanimōkū gave orders against working on the Sabbath.[24] By the time of missionary C. S. Stewart's arrival in mid-1823, he counted both Ka'ahumanu and Kalanimoku as chiefs who were becoming Christian "through the instruction and persuasion" of the missionaries.[25]

Boki's position towards the mission remained unchanged. He had been drunk on his first meeting with the missionaries in 1820,[26] and as a close companion of the king he continued to drink, gamble, and host card parties.[27] Ka'ahumanu's edict against drinking had little effect on the king and his retinue.[28] Bingham expressed some understanding for the difficulty of Boki's position, saying:

". . . He must please his superiors, or lose his place, . . . He must please that class of foreigners who love their indulgences, or fail their flattery and co-operation; and he must favor the missionaries, or himself and people lose the advantages which they offered, and which some were striving to obtain. To do all this, and yet indulge a vile heathen heart, and secure his ulterior ends, was no easy task, even if he had possessed the sagacity of Solomon."[29]

By November, 1823, when Boki departed for England in the party of King Liholiho, a social movement toward acceptance of the Puritan religion was in progress and Boki was not a part of it.

When Boki returned to Hawai'i in May, 1825, escorting the bodies of his king and queen, Hawai'i had changed. He expressed his anxiety about the possible changes aboard the Blonde as the ship approached Maui for his first interview with his peers, the ruling chiefs.[30]

The nation was more stable than he might have expected and more sober. All of the ruling chiefs; the regent, the prime minister and the island governers, had become active supporters of the mission.[31] There was little evidence of the confusion and mourning practices that traditionally followed the death of a sovereign, and the potential

disturbances over control of power and lands was nonexistent.[32]

Initially, Boki appeared to fit harmoniously with the changes that had taken place. His experiences on the journey to England and King George's support for Christianity had made a strong impression on him. He called for prayer immediately on landing at Maui and attended service again at O'ahu.[33] He publicly recommended "attention to the palapala and the service of God,"[34] and sent a letter with a similar message to Rev. Ellis by the return of the Blonde.[35] These obvious changes in Boki surprised his own people and delighted the missionaries.[36]

His statements supporting the mission, coupled with his earlier baptism and his recent observance of Anglican services aboard the Blonde, led the missionaries to allow him to take communion shortly after his return.[37] Boki's ready acceptance into the church set off a sequence of religious fervor among his peers that may have been prompted by their jealousy of his newly increased status.[38] Their desire to demonstrate their own piety began the Puritan rule that eventually placed Boki in the role of rebel.[39]

Shortly after Boki's arrival and warm reception by the mission, both Ka'ahumanu and Kalanimōkū pleaded to be accepted as members of the Kawaiaha'o church. The

missionaries were delighted to have the two most powerful chiefs in the kingdom seeking salvation, but both were placed on a six-month probation to allow the missionaries time to assess the depth of the chiefs' piety.[40]

During this period both Ka'ahumanu and Kalanimōkū publicly demonstrated their Christian virtues. Ka'ahumanu issued an edict that all people must learn to read and write, while she and Kalanimōkū worked with the missionaries advice to prepare a set of moral laws based on the ten commandments.[41]

She sent Boki and Don Francisco de Paula Marin, a resident trader and interpreter, aboard the ships in Honolulu harbor to inform the captains that no women were to be allowed on board.[42]

Kalanimōkū married his wife in a Christian ceremony (originally the wife of his brother, Boki, taken by force.)[43] Ka'ahumanu agreed to separate from Keali'iahonui, her husband who was also her stepson through her overlapping marriages to him and his father, Kaumuali'i.[44]

Boki publicly supported the personal actions being made by Ka'ahumanu and Kalanimōkū, but he rejected the missionaries' imposition of their views on the laws of the nation. When the proposed laws were submitted to a counsel of the chiefs in December, 1825, he vetoed their acceptance.

He convinced Kauikeaouli, of whom he was guardian, to postpone the laws until a later date.[45] Bingham, in his sermon, railed at Boki and Kalanimōkū for their failure to pass the Christian laws.[46]

For most of the next year, Kalanimōkū was ill and it fell to Boki to enforce the existing laws, including the kapu on women visiting the ships. The riotious response of the U.S.S. Dolphin crew to this edict forced Boki to temporarily lift the ban after the ship's arrival in January, 1826, and even Hiram Bingham did not criticize Boki's decision.[47] The ban was reinstated after a few months, but Boki maintained a policy of selective enforcement of all of the moral laws. He was making money from prostitution, alcohol and billiards, and the laws infringed on his authority, his pleasures and his profits.[48]

His pleasures and profits were the cause of an open confrontation between Boki and the church in late 1826 which soured his already-tenuous relationship to the mission and the Christian chiefs. Elisha Loomis had learned about Boki's ownership of a billiard parlor, and in a sermon attended by Boki he spoke of gambling as a form of theft. A week later, Boki stood during church services and announced that he had been accused of thievery and that the king had also been implicated. He said that they were not guilty and

were both keeping the word of God. He finished by declaring that he and the king would no longer attend services at the church; they would attend the meeting of the English minister.[49]

The missionaries visited Boki at home to convince him that he shouldn't be angry; it was the bible that prohibited gambling, not the missionaries. Boki's anger at the charge could not be assuaged. He said King George and the Secretary, Mr. Canning, gambled and they were certainly Christians.[50] Boki fell away from the mission and its close supporters, Ka'ahumanu and Kalanimōkū. He was still alienated from them when Kalanimōkū repaired to Hawai'i where he died.[51]

In 1828 Laura Fish Judd described the Hawaiian government as "two rival houses;" Governor Boki representing one and "our good queen" the other.[52] In many ways, she was right. Boki, as governor, was the most prominent of the chiefs who opposed the mission and its influence in Hawaiian affairs, so he was the one most likely to be drawn into conflict with Ka'ahumanu and her mission laws. He repeatedly made plans to rebel against her, but each time he was stopped short of action.

Kalanimōkū discouraged his rebellion against her in 1826, pleading that she brought honor to their family and

that no rebel had lived to succeed.[53] Kekūanao'a interceded again after Kalanimōkū's death,[54] and even Hiram Bingham helped to diffuse a potential rebellion.[55] While his family ties to the ruling chiefs and the uncertain results of a rebellion kept Boki from carrying out his plans, those same considerations kept his opponents from acting to replace him as governor and guardian of the young king.[56]

In spite of his stormy relationships with Ka'ahumanu and his alienation from the church, Boki cooperated on projects that he felt was for the betterment of his people. He provided support for the missionaries in the way of buildings, land and labor, long after he had become disgruntled with their religion.[57] He collaborated on the provision of schools for the populace, in his own districts of 'Ewa and Wai'anae and throughout the island.[58] The largest task on which he cooperated, and to which he dedicated great energy, was his role as an economic force, especially in the payment of the nation's debts.

When the armed schooner Dolphin arrived in 1826, it was the first American navy vessel to appear in Hawai'i. England had been known as a great naval presence in Hawai'i from the time of Captain Cook, but until 1826 the United States had only been represented by traders and whalers.[59] When a second warship, the U.S.S. Peacock, arrived in

November of that same year, the Hawaiians were faced with being forced to pay their debts to the American merchants.

Some of the debts were originally incurred during the reign of Liholiho, a time when the Hawaiian sandalwood trade was at its peak. The islands were a lucrative market for American traders, selling goods and ships on credit in return for later payment in piculs of sandalwood. (picul = 133 1/3 lb.) The traders' quest was an easy one, and as soon as a portion of the debt was paid credit was again extended, for the chiefs purchased almost anything that was offered, often "with little regard either to the cost or the utility of the article."[60] The axiom "buy close and sell dear" was the traders' rule of the day, with sandalwood being credited far below its market price and trade goods being sold at fantastic profits.[61]

By mid-1821, merchants reported the Hawaiian market to be glutted "with every merchandize (sic), and vessels more than they know what to do with."[62] The chiefs were already eighteen thousand piculs in debt at that time, owing approximately $180,000.[63] The debts were under the king's name, and Boki, as governor of O'ahu, was responsible for his portion of them.[64]

Capt. Jones of the Peacock, arriving in November, 1826, was charged with addressing the problem of mutineers,

strengthening America's relationship with the Hawaiian kingdom and arranging for the chiefs to pay their existing debts to American merchants.[65] He stayed for three months, during which time a treaty of friendship was signed, and the merchants' claims were consolidated into a national debt of $150,000.[66]

The main burden of this debt lay on Kalanimōkū as the fiscal officer of the kingdom. Boki and each of the other governors would be responsible for approximately one-fourth of the whole.[67] The method for accumulating the funds was to require each able-bodied man to provide one-half picul of good sandalwood, while each woman over thirteen would provide a mat (12' x 6') or a tapa of equal value. Spanish dollars (4) or hogs could be substituted for the wood and mats.[68]

The agreement called for the debt to be paid off within ten months, by October, 1827. Any surplus collected would then be divided among the king and the governors.[69] Presumably any deficit would be the responsibility of the governors as well, to be raised through their other trade activities.

Among the chiefs, Boki was the boldest in his efforts at trade.[70] He needed money to satisfy his own extravagant desires, and to fulfill his responsibilities as governor.

He had traded with foreign ships during the reign of Kamehameha the first[71], and during Liholiho's reign he undoubtedly participated in much of the trade in Honolulu. With his brother, the prime minister, he established a cartel in 1823 on the lucrative provisioning of the whalers' and traders' ships, allowing produce to be sold only through his facilities in the fort.[72] After Capt. Jones' departure he dedicated himself to his business activities in order to meet the American demands.

Boki, accompanied by the king, immediately departed for Wao'ala to begin the collection of sandalwood.[73] Ka'ahumanu spent the same time touring the island to exhort the people in their Christian progress, as she did periodically.[74] During that year Boki was often occupied with the collection of sandalwood.[75]

A year later, the American debt was still not paid. Kalanimōkū's death in 1827 had added even more financial burden to the governor, because the two brothers had worked together to clear the nation's debts while others didn't.[76] Boki increased the number and extent of his trading ventures in the next two years to develop a far-flung, if not always profitable, business empire.[77]

Fortunately for Boki, while his trade in entertaining the visiting ships and distilling liquor ran him afoul of

the missionaries and resulted in his break from the church, the conflicts his trading raised do not appear to have curtailed his operations. Ka'ahumanu and the missionaries did, however, create interference that resulted in lost profits. Ka'ahumanu had him fined in 1827 for misconduct, intemperence, fornication and adultery, apparently in connection with his brothels and grog-shops.[78]

She ordered the sugar cane on his Mānoa plantation to be torn up when she found it was to be used for rum.[79] When Boki could no longer provide the cane for distilling, the missionaries convinced the natives not to supply cane to Boki's partner who leased one of his buildings as a distillery.[80] The partner blamed the missionaries exclusively, saying "I consider that you have sunk for me $7,000. . ."[81]

Boki was apparently undaunted by the conflicts. He went into the retail business, opening a shop with the king's backing.[82] In the same building that housed the store, Boki opened the Blonde Hotel[83] named for the H.M.S. Blonde, and soon was expanding his involvement in gambling, sale of alcohol and prostitution.[84] By late 1828 he had sent trading ships to Alaska, Canton, Manila and Tahiti.[85] Boki attempted the sugar plantation and when the sugar market looked gloomy he sought partners for the rum

distillery in Mānoa.[86] When Ka'ahumanu had the sugar crop destroyed, Boki turned to distilling ti-root.[87]

Not all of Boki's ventures made money. The trading trip to Canton purchased more than it sold and did not retain enough profit to pay for the expenditures of the trip. The ship was sold at auction with an overdraft charged to Boki.[88] The captain, Manuia, was also apparently unable to pay off all of the bills for fitting out the brig when he returned to Honolulu in 1828.[89]

Boki's trade ship that sailed to Tahiti required sending another agent to force the return of minor profit,[90] and according to Bingham his retail business and hotel "however lucrative they might have been to some of his English clerks, were probably a losing concern to himself."[91] It is quite likely Bingham was merely ill-wishing and that the Blonde Hotel, Boki's various grog shops and his related entertainment enterprises provided excellent income, considering the thousands of seamen and residents who frequented Honolulu.[92]

Boki is often represented as being heavily in debt, but a substantial amount of black ink apparently remained on his books. Prior to opening his retail store at a cost of $4,000, Boki had paid off all of his previous personal debts to the largest American trader, J. C. Jones, who was also

the American consul. He had paid almost half of nine hundred (900) piculs worth of new charges, and the remaining 500 piculs were ready for collection at Waimea.[93] He had been able to gain the capital necessary to finance such large enterprises as the Blonde Hotel and his international trade ventures, while at the same time paring down the national debt to the Americans.

When Captain Finch of the U.S.S. Vincennes appeared in October 1829, part of his task was to re-evaluate the debt issue.[94] Two promissary notes totalling 6,865 piculs of sandalwood (valued at $7.00/picul) were agreed upon: one for the remainder of the earlier debt agreement (4,700 piculs of sandalwood); one for the brig Kamehameha, which Kauikeaouli had purchased on credit the previous year (2,165 piculs).[95]

The amount still remaining on the earlier agreement shows that about $117,000 had been paid off in the course of two years; a very considerable amount. Boki's share of this new figure would be $12,000; not a major sum, if one considers that he must have paid at least three times that amount in the previous three years.[96] The two new notes called for full payment in 9 months to avoid an interest penalty and were signed by the most powerful of the Hawaian chiefs: Kauikeaouli, Poki, J. Adams, Hoapili, Nāihe, and Ka'ahumanu.[97]

Another goal of the visit was to cultivate friendly relations with the Hawaiian government. To this end, a warm greeting from President Jackson was read and gifts were distributed to the chiefs. Boki received a world map; a very fitting gift, considering Boki's nature and imminent future.[98]

Kamakau tells of a prophecy that was made early in 1829 while Boki was supervising road work in Nu'uanu, O'ahu. On attempting to move a large stone in the stream he was told that the rock was a guardian of the place and one who moved it would no longer reside in Hawai'i. "Lucky for you if a year passes before you depart."[99] Whether the prophecy really occurred or whether Kamakau embellished his history after the fact, it adds an interesting note to the way that Boki's story was understood in Hawai'i.

Long prior to this prophecy, things were happening that would lead Boki away from Hawai'i forever: Erromango (Nanapua) had been discovered as a virgin source of good quality sandalwood, and the secret location of this easily traded resource was soon to be known in Hawai'i.[100] Peter Dillon, one of the most legendary traders in the Pacific, had discovered the abundant sandalwood of Erromango in 1825 while plying through the New Hebrides (Vanuatu) in his ship, the Calder.[101]

Dillon kept the knowledge a close secret until he later shared it with a friend in Tahiti, Captain Henry, who sponsored two collecting trips in 1826 and 1827. Henry then led his own major collecting voyage in the brig Sophia in 1829, lying to traders and port authorities about his destinations and sources.[102]

The location of the sandalwood island was kept secret even from those on board ship, but two of his 1829 passengers, a watchmaker named Thomas Blakesley and a silversmith named Cox, made a sextant and measured the exact locale.[103] When the Sophia stopped in Honolulu, Blakesley sold the information to interested traders, including Boki and his partner in trade, Kauikeaouli.[104]

Reports in Hawai'i say that a ship from Port Jackson[105] or Sydney[106] arrived under the command of Capt. Makapa'a ("one-eye-blind", possibly Blakesley) while Boki and Kauikeaouli were in Wahiawā cutting sandalwood.[107] Capt. Makapa'a reportedly first shared the information with white traders in Honolulu and an English venture ship, the Dhaule, was readied and departed Honolulu before Boki could prepare for the trip.[108] Boki's store employees brought the news to him and the king, after which he sent for the captain.

Capt. Makapa'a reported to the king and Boki that "the island is that of Nanapua (Erromango) in 'Ainawohi (now New

Hebrides/Vanuatu) south of the equator. . . it (sandalwood) grew from the beach to the mountains. . . The people are wild. It would be wise to go well armed."[109] The captain is also quoted as saying "This wood here, it was fetched as firewood, but here it was, sandalwood! My laborers said that it was the only tree that grows there, from the sea to the mountain."[110]

This kind of description, coupled with the falling value and availability of Hawaiian sandalwood,[111] quickly convinced Boki that the trade excursion would be worthwhile. A crew for the ship would be easy to acquire, as the news had created great enthusiasm in Honolulu. People thought that there would be plenty of wood to cover the alii's share with enough left over to make the whole crew rich.[112]

Thomas Blakesly, who promised that he could find the islands, was contracted to sail. He was to be paid $4,500 if the trip were successful and nothing if the project should fail. The contract called for taking the islands under Hawaiian protection and sailing with the sandalwood to Canton. It was signed by Boki, Kauikeaouli, and Blakesley; Ka'ahumanu not being consulted.[113]

A letter addressed to the commander of the Becket (a 100-ton vessel, called the Kalaimoku or Keoko'i in Hawaiian sources) was more explicit. It directed the ship to

"certain islands" where they were to "prevail on the inhabitants to Except of our protection by them taking the oath of alegiance and allowing our colours to be hoisted and for them to concider themselves under our protection. . ."[114] It also ordered the capture and speedy dispatch to Honolulu of any ships that may be molesting the natives and advised the captain that he would receive future orders from "our ambassador _____."[115]

The idea of taking over other islands by force was perhaps acceptable in Hawai'i at the time. George Marin, son of the famous Francisco de Paula Marin, succeeded at the same task two years later.[116]

The intention of taking control of the island was apparently well known[117], and once Boki's decision to accompany the journey was announced his own goals raised speculation. Setting up a colony and trading post[118], moving Kauikeaouli's court[119], and finding a new land in which Boki could safely hide his bones[120] were all given as reasons for his accompanying the trip. Boki stated that he went with righteous intentions, in order to settle the chief's debts and not for unworthy reasons.[121]

Daws says that a combination of personal debts and antagonistic relations with Ka'ahumanu and the Christian faction of Honolulu were determining factors in his

decision.[122] Several of Boki's statements bear witness to his less than perfect relations,[123] but the extent his personal indebtedness is perhaps exaggerated.

Whatever his motivations, Boki was ready for the trip. He was in better physical shape than he'd been in for a long time.[124] He had been severely overweight, but was skilled in native medicine and could treat himself.[125] He set to preparing the Kamehameha and the Becket with a fervor. With himself and Thomas Blakesley in charge of the Kamehameha, and Manuia and a whaler's mate in charge of the Becket, he began selecting a crew and loading supplies.[126] The crew was handpicked, many coming from the ranks of Boki's own divisions of soldiers, one in ten being chiefs accompanied by their own men.[127] A great supply of guns and powder was loaded in addition to the necessary wood cutting equipment.[128] Boki was setting up a war expedition.

The men rushed to ready the ships for departure, even working on the Sabbath, which was seen as a bad augery by some.[129] The defiance of Boki's men angered some of Honolulu's Christian population.[130] However, most of the chosen crewmembers "were opposed to the claims of the Gospel", so the work proceeded, nonetheless.[131]

The Kamehameha was ready five days before the Becket but waited for her sister ship.[132] Boki, in his last

official act as governor, transferred all of his powers and his personal care of the king to his wife, Liliha.[133] He boarded the ship secretly and refused to give up his venture despite the orders of his king and the pleadings of his family.[134]

On December 3, 1829, the Becket was finally ready. Manuia and his wife, Ka'upena, boarded her and the two ships departed.[135] More than four hundred crewmen sailed with the two ships, including four clergymen[136] and "the flower of the youth of O'ahu, enticed by visions of gold and conquest."[137] The Kamehameha carried almost 300 and the Becket carried 179.[138] The women and families of the men wailed and mourned as if their men were dead.[139] Their mourning was prophetic.

After leaving Hawai'i, the two ships sailed closely together all the way to Rotuma,[140] 260 miles north of the Fiji islands. There they replenished stores of pork, coconuts and yams and picked up laborers. On anchoring at Rotuma, the sights of the place and the smells of the food made the Hawaiian crew homesick for their own islands.[141] About one hundred laborers were recruited,[142] or as some sources state, forced into service.[143] Force would seem to have been unnecessary as Rotuman natives were commonly used

in the developing Melanesian trade and volunteered readily for the journeys.[144]

After procuring the supplies and laborers, the ships prepared to leave but the Becket's anchor became tangled in the reef. The Kamehameha went on, leaving a diver named Kahilona behind to help the Becket and arranging to reunite in Erromango.[145] The Becket followed 10 days later.[146]

When the Becket arrived at the east coast of Erromango,[147] there was no sign of the Kamehameha, which should have preceded them. A ship was sent to circle the island and scout for the missing vessel, but there was no sign of them.[148] The Becket was not the only cutting expedition on the island: Capt. Henry of the Sophia had left Tongan cutters behind to collect wood and the Dhaule, with 130 Rotuman cutters, had arrived before the Becket.[149]

Hawaiian sources describe the stay at Erromango tersely, mentioning hostile natives and illness, which killed many, including Manuia.[150] Other sources state that from their first arrival, the Hawaiian crew ruined the friendly relations at Erromango by acting the part of colonizers and conquerors, that their first action was to have a friendly Erromangan chief bound hand and foot, that they fired on Erromangans at the least disturbance, and that they effectively stopped any chance of trading.[151] This

more negative aspect of the venture was not recalled in Hawaiian reports, but could well have occurred considering that the goal of the Hawaiian ships was to take control of the islands.

After the initial hostilities, fever apparently broke out among the Rotuman cutters.[152] Eastern Polynesians were not accustomed to the severe environment of Melanesia, with its heat, humidity and malaria, and illness spread through the ship as she lay at anchor.[153] By the time the Sophia arrived on March 6, 1830, the entire company of Polynesians were suffering from fever and disease.[154] After five weeks of misery and no word of the Kamehameha, the Becket departed Erromango.[155] Most of those on board were sick with fever or dying of famine and many were thrown overboard while still alive, causing fights between the captain and others on the ship.[156]

The Becket, with 180 having died, returned to Rotuma where some twenty of the crew were left in the hopes that they would recover.[157] Kukuinui and Kekeni were among this group and they did return later to Hawai'i.[158] Of the one hundred Rotumans taken to Erromango, 47 were returned to their home; a much better survival rate than that of the Hawaiian crew.[159] The Becket proceeded on to Honolulu.

While the Becket was making her way home, a lunatic ran screaming through the streets of Honolulu screaming "Manuia has gone astray; Keoko'i (Becket) is the ship!"[160] The first news to reach Honolulu was brought by the Dhaule, reporting that the Kamehameha had not reached Erromango and that unidentifiable wreckage, possibly the missing vessel, had been sighted off Rotuma following a severe gale.[161] On August 3, 1830 the Becket returned to Honolulu, its flag at half-mast.[162] The ship held a crew of twenty; twelve Hawaiians and eight foreigners.[163]

The survivors told the tale and the families and loved ones of the missing began a great mourning that swept throughout the land.[164] Not all of the survivors are recorded, but they include Ka'upena, wife of Manuia,[165] Kukuinui and Kekeni, who were left at Rotuma and returned later, James Stevens,[166] John Williams,[167] Captain Lele,[168] Mika Bala, Mr. Kelewali, Kealoha'ai, and Kahilona, the diver who had been loaned to the Becket in Rotuma.[169]

And what became of Boki and the crew of the Kamehameha? The Dhaule assumed that they were lost in the storms near Rotuma. Jarves assumed that the extensive powder stores on the ship were detonated by careless smoking in the hold.[170] Ka'upena related that a mast was seen at Erromanga that one foreigner identified as being from the Kamehameha.[171] It

was hinted that Boki may have settled on an obscure island,[172], as this was not a rare occurance in this period.[173] Two notes of interest make this last possibility more entertaining.

One year after the loss of the ship Kamehameha, a passenger on the brig Chinchilla mentions passing the "island of Boke" after leaving Sāmoa for Fanning island.[174] Sāmoa appears again in connection with Boki in 1887 - fifty-seven years after his disappearance. In a letter from Henry Poor, the Hawaiian ambassador to Sāmoa, he tells of being introduced to an old Samoan man named Kauikeaouli. The old man said he got the name because he'd lived with an ali'i Hawai'i named Boki, one of Kauikeaouli's ali'i who had landed a ship at Sa'apali'i on Savai'i long before. This Boki was accompanied by his wife and many Hawaiians, all of whom were dead by then, but some of Boki's sons were said to still be living at Sa'apāli'i.[175] Poor asked for travel funds to investigate the matter on Savai'i, but the Hawaiian delegation was recalled shortly thereafter and no follow-up was done.

Daws is the only written source that comments on this archival obscurity. He calls it "a piece of buffoonery from a gin-soaked embassy in Sāmoa".[176] The possibility may be worthy of more consideration than he grants it, for several

reasons. The matter is mentioned as an interesting aside in a rather newsy letter to J. S. Webb, secretary of the foreign office. [177] Other than possible passage to Savai'i, Poor inquires if the Hawaiian government might not be interested in bringing any descendants of the Hawaiian chiefs back to the islands for education. If the "discovery" were meant as a hoax, it was not going to provide substantial benefit to Henry Poor, who, unlike some of the members of the Sāmoa Embassy [178], was regarded as a man of "innate courtesy and good-breeding." [179]

The result of Boki's Erromango expedition was disaster. The immediate outcome was the loss of almost five hundred men of Hawai'i, most of them Hawaiians. Jarves says that the dead and missing included the choicest and finest of O'ahu's young men.[180] Ten percent of the sojourners had been chiefs. [181] Their disappearance saddened all of Hawai'i and the mourning went on for days.[182]

Another great loss to the kingdom was that of Boki himself. Criticized as immoral for his drinking, gambling, prostitution and participation in traditional chiefly pleasures, [183] he was nonetheless a staunch supporter of his people and his nation. Many of Boki's business ventures had been put in the hands of Hawaiian managers and captains,[184] as his disastrous final business attempt had been. He had

worked hard to settle the national debt and had set a good example as an entrepreneur who could achieve success. The abject failure of the Erromango trip took from the young nation of Hawai'i a strong leader who did not concede to confusion and failure and who was a role model for adapting to a changing system.

Financially the Erromango trip left the Hawaiian government with a legacy of debt. Loss of the ship Kamehameha together with the cost of guns and provisions must have been staggering. (The Kamehameha alone had cost approximately $15,000.)[185] The survivors were due their salaries, which had to be paid by the government despite the outcome of the venture.[186] In addition to the direct costs, Boki's one-fourth of the national debt as well as his personal debts had to be absorbed by Kauikeaouli's government.[187] Lacking Boki's economic support, the debt were still unpaid two years after his departure.[188]

Because the crew of the Kamehameha had disappeared and their death was unproven, hope remained for their return. This hope was rekindled after a year when a man came racing into Honolulu screaming "Boki is at Wai'anae! Boki is at Wai'anae with a warship!"[189] People hurried out to the countryside to verify the man's story, and when it was proved wrong he was given one hundred lashes with the end of

a rope for causing a public disturbance. People were upset because their hopes had been dashed.

Others were relieved to find the report untrue: the missions had expounded on the religious message that Boki's disastrous end was warranted by his past actions. If Boki had returned, the example would have been ruined.[190] Bingham reflected accurately, though with a pious bias, on the possible extent of Boki's role as an opponent to the mission if he had returned, saying, "the hand of God was guarding the interests of the nation in a conspicuous and wonderful manner. The successful return of that whole company might have made strong a dangerous faction which seemed now to be greatly weakened." [191]

Boki's disappearance, along with hundreds of his supporters, did weaken and eventually bring about a complete closure to the only remaining indigenous opposition to the puritan government of Ka'ahumanu and her missionary advisors. [192] The changes that followed his disappearance led to an entrenchment of mission interests and American ties, which in some analyses, related directly to the eventual overthrow of the kingdom some sixty years later. 193

Boki had left his responsibilities and his powers to Liliha, and after he sailed she was made acting governor of

O'ahu. She perpetuated Boki's interests, avoided enforcing the restrictive laws and generally allied herself to the opponents of the mission. [194] In 1830 she prepared to challenge Ka'ahumanu by taking over the fort and manning it with loyal supporters from Wai'anae, though the effort was aborted by the intercession of her father, Hoapili. [195]

Liliha was removed from the office of governor, and after her departure, those in Boki's faction were seriously affected. Francisco de Paula Marin and other associates lost their lands and priveleges. [196] The Catholic priests, whom Boki had harbored in 1827 despite Ka'ahumanu's objections, were sent away. Boki had insisted on tolerance (having been baptized Catholic), saying that they all worshipped the same God. While his objection was allowed in his presence, it was overridden in his absence. [197]

Boki's adventure was never forgotten, and a number of reminders recall it. His story is told in every history of Hawai'i. Those who survived the event retold it up to their deaths and the accomplishment merited mention in their obituaries. [198] Ships were named as reminders: a couple of years after the return of the Becket, Ka'ahumanu traveled inter-island on the ship Mika Bala named after one of the survivors of the journey.[199]

A legend arose about how Boki, in the form of a dog, still haunts the scenes of his early exploits. Those who see the dog consider it an omen of good luck.[200] A street in the Mānoa district of Honolulu is named Poki, presumably in honor of the traveler, and the phrase "When Boki returns" has come to mean never.[201]

Another reminder comes from John Papa 'Ī'ī, who wrote a warning to Hawaiians of the 1860's using Boki as his prime example. He warned that by leaving their homeland Hawaiians could suffer having their bones neglected in a foreign land. 'Ī'ī gave the following chant to illustrate his point, preceding it with "Boki's end proves the truth of this chant:"

Waiho i Ka'ea	Left at Ka'ea
Ka iwi o kamahele,	Are the bones of the traveler.
Moe hia'ā ke kino,	My body lies sleepless,
Hala'o'o ka maka;	My eyes strain into the distance;
Hala'o'o me he lā'au	Straining to see through the "wood"
lā i ku'u maka	before my eyes.
Me he ka 'ohu hu'i	Like a chilling fog is my bitter
lā ka walania,	grief,
Ka 'eke'eke o ke	Making me cringe with woe.
kanaka i ke aloha.	
Ka ma'alahia ka	There is wailing, moaning over him;
'uhuhua ia ia;	
Ke ku'ina ke aloha	The grief that overcomes me makes
wali maoli au ē.	me weep."[202]

NOTES

1. McKinzie. Hawaiian Genealogies, 1986; volume II, ppg. 12-13
2. McKinzie. Hawaiian Genealogies, 1983; volume I, ppg. 19, 50
3. Kamakau. Ruling Chiefs of Hawai'i, 1961, pg. 287
4. traditional
5. Kuykendall. 1928 Some Early Commercial Adventurers of Hawaii, in Thirty-seventh Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society, 1928; pg. 1, n1
6. The B and P were interchangable, with the B more frequently written and the P used in speech. Letter P was selected as the norm when the language was standardized for writing.
7. Gast and Conrad. Don Francisco de Paula Marin, 1973; pg. 90. In Marin's journal, entry of July 10, 1821, mentions Kahalai'a taking command and is interpreted by Gast as meaning that he takes control of O'ahu from Boki, although the matter is not clarified and is not corroborated in Marin's journal or any other source.)
8. Graham in Daws. The High Chief Boki, A biographical study in early nineteenth century Hawaiian History, in The Journal of the Polynesian Society, Volume 75:1, March 1966; pg. 69;
   Captain Finch as relayed by Stewart in Kuykendall, 1928, pg.24
9. Arago in Daws, 1966; pg. 67; Láura F. Judd. Honolulu: Sketches of life in the Hawaiian Islands, 1928; pg. 17-18
10. Daws. 1966; pg. 66
11. Bingham. A Residence Of Twenty-one Years In The Sandwich Islands; Or The Civil, Religious, And Political History Of Those Islands: Comprising A Partcular View Of The Missionary Operations Connected With The Introduction And Progress Of Christianity And Civilization Among The Hawaiian People, 1969; pg. 115)
12. ibid. 107-8)
13. ibid. 108-9)
14. ibid. 107-8)
15. ibid. 157)
16. ibid. 108)
17. ibid. 156-7)
18. ibid. 129
19. ibid. 129).
20. Stewart. Journal of a residence in the Sandwich Islands, during the years 1823, 1824, and 1825, 1970; pg. 218)
21. Bingham. 1969; pg. 149)
22. ibid. 162)

23. Gast and Conrad. 1973; pg. 268)
24. Stewart. 1970; pg. 203)
25. ibid. 106)
26. Bingham. 1969; pg. 92)
27. Gast. 1973; pg. 273)
28. ibid. 268-284)
29. Bingham. 1969; pg. 110
30. Dampier. To the Sandwich Islands on H.M.S. Blonde, 1971; pg. 34)
31. Bingham. 1969; pg. 205)
32. Daws. 1966; pg. 68
33. Richards in Stewart. 1970; pg. 339)
34. Bingham. 1969; pg. 262-4
35. Ellis. Polynesian Researches: Hawaii, 1969; pg. 457
36. Daws. 1966; pg. 68
37. Chamberlain. The Journal of Levi Chamberlain. Hawaiian Historical Society typescript; entry dated May 22, 1825
38. Dampier. 1971; pg. 50)
39. Gast and Conrad. 1973; pg. 100)
40. Daws 1966; pg. 69)
41. Gast and Conrad. 1973; 106, 300
42. ibid. 300
43. Edith McKinzie. personal communication
44. Bingham. 1969; pg. 268)
45. Daws. 1966; pg. 70
46. Steven Reynolds journal in Thrum's Hawaiian Annual for the year 1909; journal entry of December 10, 1825
47. Bingham. 1969; pg. 284-8
48. Daws. 1966; pg. 72. Laura F. Judd. 1928; pg. 42)
49. Chamberlain. entry of November 12, 1826. The British consel, Charlton, must have held Anglican services.
50. ibid.
51. Daws. 1966; pg. 75
52. Judd, Laura. 1928; pg. 17
53. 'Ī'ī. Fragments of Hawaiian History, 1973; pg. 145-6
54. Kamakau. 1961; pg. 290
55. Bingham. 1969; pg. 343
56. ibid. 342
57. Judd, Laura. 1928; pg. 32. Bingham 1969; pg. 343, Alexander and Dodge. Punahou 1841-1941, 1941; pg. 43.
58. Chamberlain. Tour Around Oahu, 1828, published in the Sixty-fifth Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society, 1957; pg. 25
59. Jones, Thomas Ap Catesby. Report Number 92 to accompany Bill H.R. #577 in the 28th United States Congress, 2nd Session, 1845; pg. 2

60. Kuykendall. 1928; pg. 16 in particular reference to Kaikio'ewa
61. Morison. Boston Traders in the Hawaiian Islands, published in Journal of the Massachussetts Historical Society, October, 1920; pg. 25.
Judd, Laura. 1928; pg. 7
62. Morison. 1920; pg. 34
63. ibid. 33
64. Ellis. 1969; pg. 416
65. Jones, Thomas Ap Catesby. 1845; ppg. 9-14.
Archives of Hawai'i, F.O. & Ex. 1825; HE MAU KANAWAI NO KE AVA O HONORURU, OAHU. (REGULATIONS FOR THE PORT OF HONORURU, OAHU.)
66. Kuykendall. 1928; pg. 17
67. ibid. 15
68. Jones, Thomas Ap Catesby. 1845; pg. 18)
69. ibid. 18
70. Kuykendall. The Hawaiian Kingdom, volume 1, 1778-1854, 1980; pg. 96
71. Gast and Conrad. 1973; pg. 233
72. ibid. 94
73. 'Ī'ī. 1973; pg. 153
74. ibid. 153
75. Kamakau. 1961; ppg.

76. Daws. 1966; pg. 79

77. Kuykendall. 1928; pg. 15
78. Daws. 1966; pg. 75)
79. ibid. 79
80. Bingham. 1969; pg. 340
81. ibid. 340
82. Kuykendall. 1928; pg. 19
83. ibid. 19
84. Daws. 1966; pg. 76
84. ibid. 76
85. Mostly under Manuia or another Hawaiian as captain.
Kuykendall. 1928; ppg. 19-21
86. Daws. 1966; pg. 79
87. ibid. 79
88. Kuykendall. 1928; pg. 20)
89. AOH/F.O.& Ex. 3/11/1840
90. Kuykendall. 1928; 20-21
91. Bingham. pg. 361
92. Jones, Thomas Ap Catesby. 1845; pg. 3 lists 2,000 American seamen and $5 million in American trade goods passing through the port of Honolulu in 1826.
93. Kuykendall. 1928; pg. 19
94. Daws. 1966; pg. 78
95. Kuykendall. 1928; pg. 21

96. Kuykendall. 1928; pg. 22
97. AOH/F.O.& Ex. 11/2/1829 The penalty interest was to be set up by a panel of three - one selected by Americans, one by chiefs and one selected by those two. Signed by Kauikeaouli, Poki, J. Adams, Hoapili, Naihe and Ka'ahumanu.
98. Bennett. A recent visit to several of the Polynesian islands, published in The United Science Journal and Naval and Military Magazine Volume 3, 1831; pg. 195
99. Kamakau. 1961; 292
100. Giles. A cruize in a Queensland Labour Vessel to the South Seas, 1968; pg. 49. Erromango, called Nanapua in Hawaiian, is spelled many ways in various accounts, but will follow contemporary spelling for this paper - see map source in bibliography.
101. Davidson and Scarr. Pacific Island Portraits, 1970; pg. 19)
102. Shineberg. They Came For Sandalwood, 1967; ppg. 16, 20-21.
103. ibid.
104. ibid
105. Daws. 1966; pg. 80
106. Kuykendall. 1980; volume 1:97
107. Kamakau. 1961; pg. 293. Brought by Capt. "Makapa'a" - same one who brought skulls of the New Zealand chiefs (Capt Henry's ptevious venture had gone to New Zealand).
108. Shineberg. The Sandalwood Trade in the islands of the South-west Pacific 1830-1865. (Ph.D. Thesis) 1965; pg. 31
109. Kamakau. 1961; pg. 293-294
110. Dibble. Mooolelo Hawaii I Kakauia E Kekahi Mau Haumana O Ke Kulanui, A I Hooponoponoia E Kekahi Kumu O Ia Kula, 1838; pg. 114 (excerpts used in this paper, unless otherwise noted, are author's translations.)
111. Shineberg. 1965 (Thesis); Appendix A:325-326. When Boki sailed to Nanapua, sandalwood was getting a high price in Canton, although sandalwood from Hawai'i was not readily acceptable. By 1832 Hawaiian sandalwood was considered not worth taking.
112. Dibble. 1838; pg. 114
113. AOH/F.O. & Ex. Nov.30, 1829
114. ibid.
115. ibid.
116. Kuykendall. 1928; pg. 32. Don Francisco de Paula Marin (Manini) had a son George who in 1831 conquered an island in Wallis group and made the King and his people labor for him. His conquest ended in revolt and the assassination of Manini
117. Daws. 1966; pg. 80
118. Shineberg. 1965 (Thesis); pg. 30-33

119. The Friend 10/1/1850, pg. 74 col. 1
120. Kamakau. 1961; pg. 294 "Undoubtedly, Boki had the idea of ruling this new island and of hiding his bones there as was the old custom in order to prevent an enemy from ridiculing one's bones after death."
121. Dibble. 1838; pg. 115. "Poki stood and spoke his thoughts thus: 'Hearken oh valiant ones, listen to my thoughts. You have witnessed my many errors, and my rottenness spreads from Hawai'i to Kaua'i. Many are the wrongdoings, by none other than me. Now I am going, but I go not for unworthy reasons, but for righteous ones. I go because of the chief's debts, not for pleasure on my part.'"
122. Daws. 1966; pg. 80
123. Kamakau. 1961; pg. 295. Daws. 1966; pg. 80
124. Dibble. 1838; pg. 114
125. Kamakau. 1961; pg. 291
126. Shineberg. 1965 (Thesis); pg. 30
127. Kamakau. 1961; pg. 294
128. Dibble. 1838; pg. 114
129. Bingham. 1969; pg. 361
130. Dibble. 1838; pg. 115
131. Bingham. 1969; pg. 362
132. Kamakau. 1961; pg. 294 (gives date of 3/28 - an apparent misprint)
133 ibid. 297
134. 'Ī'ī. 1973; pg. 157
Kamakau. 1961; pg. 295 - Kauikeaouli refused food prior to Boki's departure.
135. Kamakau. 1961; pg. 295 (dates recorded for departure vary 12/2-5, 1829)
Ka'upena's name appears in Puku'i. 'Ōlelo No'eau, 1983; pg. 165
136. Dibble. 1838; pg. 115-116
137. Jarves. History of the Sandwich Islands, 1843; pg. 264
138. Shineberg. 1965 (Thesis); pg. 30 (figures from Dibble 1909 version) (Jarves and The Friend say 226 on board Becket)
139. Dibble. 1838; pg. 115
140. Kamakau. 1961; pg. 296
141. Dibble. 1838; pg. 116
142. Shineberg. 1965 (Thesis); pg. 31
143. Jarves. 1843; pg. 264
144. Swan. Early Australasian Contacts with the New Hebrides (to 1888) (typescript) 1958; pg. 10-11
145. Kamakau. 1961; pg. 296
146. Jarves. 1843; pg. 264

147. Swan. 1958; pg. 6
148. Daws. 1966; pg. 81
149. Shineberg. 1965 (Thesis); pg. 32
150. Dibble. 1838; pg. 116. Kuykendall. 1957; volume 1:97
151. Shineberg. 1967; pg. 21
152. Swan. 1958; pg. 6
153. ibid. 38
154. Shineberg. 1965 (Thesis); pg. 33
155. Jarves. 1843; pg. 265
156. Kamakau. 1961; pg. 296
157. Daws. 1966; pg. 81
158. Kamakau. 1961; pg. 296
159. Jarves. 1843; pg. 265
160. Puku'i. 1983; pg. 165 (retranslation by the author)
161. Daws. 1966; pg. 81
162. Puku'i. 1983; pg. 165
163. The Friend. 1/1/1877
164. Dibble. 1838; pg. 116
165. Chamberlain. 1830 (journal); entry of August 4, 1830.
166. AOH/F.O.& Ex. March 30, 1832
167. The Friend. 1/1/1877
168. AOH/F.O.& Ex. Aug 11, 1830
169. Kamakau. 1961; ppg. 295-296
170. Jarves. 1843; pg. 264
171. Chamberlain. 1830 (journal); entry of August 4, 1830.
172. Kuykendall. 1980; volume 1:98
173. Kuykendall. 1928; pg. 32 - In 1831 the only residents of Fanning were 10 or 12 Sandwich islanders "who had come in some vessel, and had built 3 or 4 huts near the beach. Excerpt from "Wreck of the Glide", pg. 163-171.
174. ibid.
175. AOH F. O. & Ex. 3/12/1887
176. Daws. 1966; pg. 80
177. Kuykendall. The Hawaiian Kingdom 1874-1893, volume 3:335.
178. ibid. 3:334)
179. ibid. 3:265
180. Jarves. 1843; pg. 264
181. Kamakau. 1961; pg. 294
182. Dibble. 1838; pg. 116
183. Judd, Laura. 1928; pg. 42)
184. Kuykendall. 1928; pg. 19
185. ibid. 21 (2,165 piculs at $7.00 each)
186. AOH/F.O. & Ex. 8/11/1830; AOH/F.O. & Ex. 3/30/1832
187. AOH/F.O.&Ex 3/11/1840
188. Gast and Conrad. 1973; pg.131
189. Kamakau. 1961; pg. 305

190. ibid.
191. Bingham. 1969; pg. 362
192. AOH./F.O. & Ex.- laws, 1831-9
193. Corley. Hawai'i 1819-1830: Years of Decision, (M.A. Thesis), 1982; pg. 95
194. Gast and Conrad. 1973; pg. 123
195. Walter Judd. Palaces and Forts of the Hawaiian Kingdom; From Thatch to American Florentine, 1975; pg. 51
196. Gast and Conrad. 1973; pg. 123
197. Bingham. 1969; ppg. 376-7
198. The Friend 1/1/1877; pg 1
199. Kamakau. 1961; pg. 306
200. Nickerson. Boki and the Golden Fleece, published in Paradise of the Pacific, June, 1956; pg. 23.
201. ibid.
202. 'Ī'ī. 1973; pg. 157

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alexander, Mary Charlotte and Charlotte Peabody Dodge. Punahou 1841-1941. University of California Press, 1941.

Bingham, Hiram A.M. A Residence Of Twenty-one Years In The Sandwich Islands; Or The Civil, Religious, And Political History Of Those Islands: Comprising A Particular View Of The Missionary OperationsConnected With The Introduction And Progress Of Christianity And Civilization Among The Hawaiian People. Praeger Publishers, N.Y.; 1969

Dampier, Robert To the Sandwich Islands on H.M.S. Blonde, edited by Pauline King Joerger. University of Hawai'i Press, 1971

Dibble, Sheldon Mooolelo Hawaii. I Kakauia e Kekahi Mau Haumana o ke Kulanui, a i Hooponoponoia e Kekahi Kumu o ia Kula. Lahainaluna Press, 1838 (excerpts used in this paper, unless otherwise noted, are translated by this author)

Ellis, William. Polynesian Researches: Hawaii. Charles Tuttle Co. 1979.

Gast, Ross H. Don Francisco de Paula Marin, a Biography. The Letters and Journal of Francisco de Paula Marin. Edited by Agnes C. Conrad; University of Hawai'i Press, 1973

Giles, W. E. A cruize in a Queensland Labour Vessel to the South Seas edited by Deryck Scarr; University of Hawai'i Press, 1968

'Ī'ī, John Papa Fragments of Hawaiian History translated from Hawaiian by Mary Kawena Puku'i, edited by Dorothy Barrere. Bishop Museum Press, 1973

Jarves, James Jackson History of the Sandwich Islands London, 1843

Judd, Laura Fish. Honolulu: Sketches of life in the Hawaiian Islands; Honolulu Star-Bulletin reprint, 1928

Judd, Walter F. Palaces and Forts of the Hawaiian Kingdom; From Thatch to American Florentine Pacific Books, 1975

Kuykendall, Ralph S. The Hawaiian Kingdom Volume 1, University of Hawai'i Press, 1980

Kuykendall, Ralph S. The Hawaiian Kingdom Volume 3, University of Hawai'i Press, 1967

Kamakau, S. M. Ruling Chiefs of Hawai'i The Kamehameha Schools, 1961

McKinzie, Edith Kawelohea Hawaiian Genealogies Volume 1, Institute for Polynesian Studies, 1983

McKinzie, Edith Kawelohea Hawaiian Genealogies Volume 2 Institute for Polynesian Studies, 1986

Puku'i, Mary Kawena 'Olelo No'eau Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1983

Davidson, J. W. and Derrick Scarr. Pacific Islands Portraits. Australian National University Press, 1970

Shineberg, Dorothy. The Sandalwood Trade in the islands of the South-west Pacific 1830-1865 (Ph.D. Thesis), University of Melbourne, 1965

Shineberg, Dorothy. They came for Sandalwood Melbourne University Press, 1967

Stewart, C. S. Journal of a residence in the Sandwich Islands, during the years 1823, 1824, and 1825 University of Hawai'i Press, 1970

Titcomb, Margaret. Dog and Man in the Ancient Pacific. Bishop Museum Press, 1969

PERIODICALS

Bennett, George "A recent visit to several of the Polynesian islands," The United Science Journal and Naval and Military Magazine Volume 3, 1831

Chamberlain, Levi. "Tour Around Oahu, 1828" Sixty-fifth Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society for the year 1956. Honolulu, 1957

Daws, Gavan "The High Chief Boki, A biographical study in early nineteenth century Hawaiian history" The Journal of the Polynesian Society Volume 75, No 1, March 1966 (reprint)

The Friend 1/1/1877 pg 1 Obituary article, John Williams, died 12/26/1876

Kuykendall, Ralph S. "Some Early commercial adventurers of Hawai'i"

Thirty-seventh Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society for the Year 1928. Honolulu Star Bulletin Press, 1929

Morison. Boston Traders in the Hawaiian Islands, 1789-1823, published in The Journal of the Massachusetts Historical Society, October, 1920.

Nickerson, Thomas Boki and the Golden Fleece Paradise of the Pacific, June 1956

Reynolds, Steven. "Excerpts from the Journal of Steven Reynolds" in Thrum's Hawaiian Annual for the year 1909.

MANUSCRIPTS
Archives of Hawai'i, Foreign Office and Executive File

AOH/F.O. & Ex Nov. 2, 1829 Promissary note for Hawaiian national debt

AOH/F.O. & Ex Nov. 30, 1829, Letter to Captain of the ship Becket

AOH/F.O. & Ex Nov. 30, 1829, Contract with Thomas Blakesley

AOH/ F.O & Ex March 30, 1832 James Stevens, request for salary payment

AOH/ F.O.& Ex Aug. 11, 1830 Captain Lele, request for pay for handling ship Becket

AOH/F.O. & Ex Mar. 11, 1840 Bill of $804 for outfitting the 'Ainoa and Kamehameha for trade to Canton. Bill was submitted, still unpaid, with Boki's signature in 1840.

AOH/F.O. & Ex Mar. 12, 1887 Letter from Henry Poor about Boki in Samoa

Chamberlain, Levi. The Journal of Levi Chamberlain. Typescript in Hawaiian Historical Society Library.

Corley, Janetta Susan Williamson Hawaii - 1819-1830: Years of Decision M.A. Thesis, University of Arizona, 1982

Jones, Thomas Ap Catesby Report Number 92 to accompany Bill H.R. #577 in the 28th United States Congress, 2nd Session

Swan, K. J. Early Australasian Contacts with the New Hebrides (to 1888) (typescript) Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i 1958

MAPS

Map of the New Hebrides (Vanuatu) Published in New Hebrides Population 1840-1967: A Re-interpretation by Norma McArthur, New Caledonia, 1981

The New Pacific (Map) State of Hawai'i Department of Planning and Economic Development; Geography and Map Division, Bernice P. Bishop Museum; Pacific Basin Development Council, 1985